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578 593 One day Anastasio made a charcoal oven there to burn wood for charcoal. At once his brother and sisters interpreted this to mean that he was appropriating the land, and they all went together to denounce him. Anastasio was very much angered and said that he merely intended to burn charcoal there. His brother then demanded payment because Anastasio had cut wood without having given notice to him as elder brother. The quarrel lasted a long time and made for much bitterness and a complete break in relations. The elder brother began to spread gossip about Anastasio's wife having relations with another man. The gossip reached Anastasio's ears while he was drunk, and he attacked his wife in a rage and would have choked her to death had he not been stopped by his children. This incident, which Anastasio now attributes to his brother, has all but ruined Anastasio's marriage.

Bad feeling remained between the two brothers and between Anastasio and his sisters for a long time, but bit by bit Anastasio's bitterness subsided. He described his attitudes in these words: "We are not like animals. We quarrel a little but later we get along like brothers and sisters. To keep up grudges?—that no." There is little visiting among these families now, and Anastasio no longer asks for or accepts advice from his siblings, but he still feels obligated to inform his elder brother of events of importance, such as sending his daughter to a distant school and permitting another daughter to seek work in Mexico City. Anastasio also still sends meat to his elder brother when he slaughters a pig, and both families exchange *mole* at fiesta time. Anastasio's wife is again beginning to borrow corn from her brother-in-law when she cannot get it elsewhere, and recently when Anastasio fell from a tree and broke his hand, his brother and sister-in-law came to visit him and brought him food. Anastasio is considered "good" by his relatives, because he forgives those who cause him trouble.

COUSINS, UNCLES, AUNTS, AND OTHER RELATIVES

605 The relations between cousins are often close and show some of the qualities of sibling relations. Generally an individual will have one or two favorite cousins, usually a first cousin or *primo hermano*, with whom there may be regular visiting [476] and the giving of mutual aid. But in time of emergency, aid can be counted on even from more distant cousins. There is one important difference between cousin and sibling relations, namely, the strong taboo against sexual relations between siblings is considerably weaker in the case of cousins. It is quite common for children [833] who are cousins to play together, particularly when the cousins live on adjoining [836] or nearby house sites, and in some cases a boy's first sexual experience will be with an older cousin. The Spanish refrain, "A la prima se la arrima," has some application to life in Tepoztlán.

604 The relations between uncles and nephews is more of a respect-relationship but it may also become quite intimate. An uncle is often a child's favorite and will frequently bring some gift for a nephew or niece. The fact that the uncle relationship has more of the respect quality makes it a more solid relationship than the [476] sibling relationship. Work exchanges between uncles and nephews occur more [578] often than between married siblings. But quarrels with uncles also occur, particu- [428] larly over matters of inheritance. We have a number of cases where, upon a man's

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death, his brother will step in and claim a portion of the inheritance from the widow, especially when her children are still small.

IN-LAWS

Because of the predominance of patrilocal residence, the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationship is the most important of all in-law relations. When the young bride goes to live with her husband's family, she is expected to take the role of a grown daughter, addressing her husband's parents as mother and father and giving them the same respect and obedience she owes her own mother and father. Her work is assigned by the mother-in-law and generally consists of the most burdensome tasks, such as grinding corn, making tortillas, and washing and ironing the clothing of the entire family. In the past, when girls married at twelve or thirteen and were unskilled, it was the duty of the mother-in-law to teach them the work.

It is the obligation of the mother-in-law to chaperone her daughter-in-law and to see that she remains a faithful wife. To this end the daughter-in-law is expected to remain within the house most of the time and not to go out alone. There are many jokes told which depict the mother-in-law as the "policeman." When the daughter-in-law gives birth to a child, the mother-in-law has the major responsibility of caring for both of them; the quality of this care often depends upon whether or not the mother-in-law approves of her daughter-in-law. In cases in which the mother-in-law disapproves of the marriage, because the couple eloped or because the girl was pregnant before the marriage, or because she had a bad reputation, the young wives may be grossly neglected during and after childbirth.

Although many mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law manage to get along fairly well, the relationship is obviously a "charged" one and is generally recognized as such by Tepoztecans. Both women tend to approach their new relationship with apprehension. The young wife fears that she may not be able to please her mother-in-law, that too much work will be demanded of her, that she will feel like an outsider in a strange house. Many girls have grown up with the idea, learned from their mothers and other married women, that the daughter-in-law is merely the "slave" of the mother-in-law and suffers much at her hands. The mother-in-law, on the other hand, fears that her new daughter-in-law will be lazy and just another mouth to feed. If the girl comes from a better-to-do family, she may look down upon the way of life in her husband's home and cause uneasiness. It is for this reason that when marriages are arranged, the boy's parents seek a poor girl who will not be demanding or afraid to work.

In many cases the fears are justified and much quarreling occurs. The mother-in-law expects the younger woman to work as hard, if not harder, than she herself works. In fact, many women shift almost the entire burden of the household upon the daughter-in-law, so that they may take up business activity outside the home. The daughter-in-law, who may be seventeen or eighteen years of age, has been working hard from the age of thirteen in her own home under the instruction of